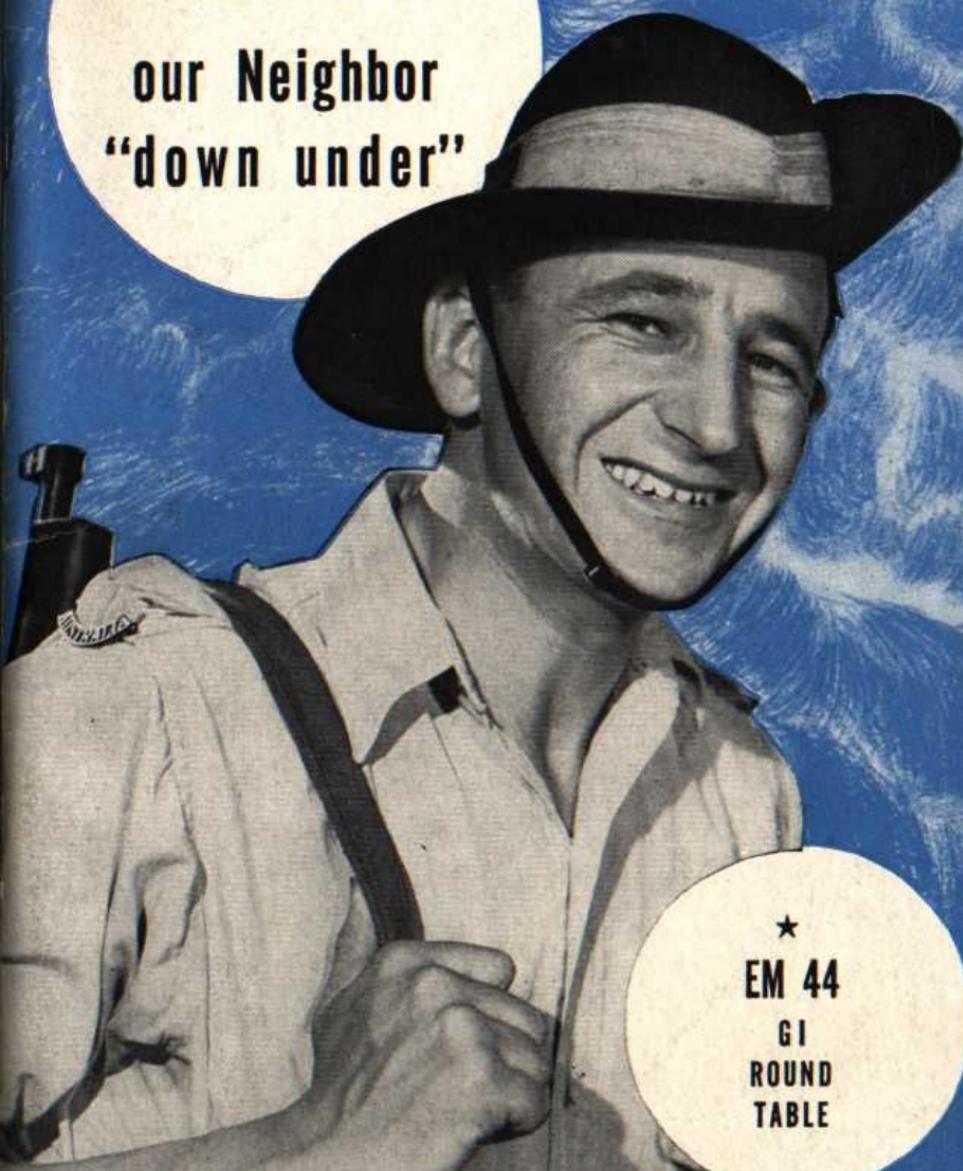


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AUSTRALIA

our Neighbor
"down under"



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This pamphlet is one of a series made available by the War Department under the series title *G. I. Roundtable*. As the general title indicates, *G. I. Roundtable* pamphlets provide material which information-education officers may use in conducting group discussions or forums as part of an off-duty education program.

The content of this pamphlet has been prepared by the Historical Service Board of the American Historical Association. Each pamphlet in the series has only one purpose: to provide factual information and balanced arguments as a basis for discussion of all sides of the question. It is not to be inferred that the War Department endorses any one of the particular views presented.

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EM 44, *G. I. Roundtable: Australia: Our Neighbor "Down Under"*

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AUSTRALIA . . .

our
neighbor
down
under







On march 17, 1942

General Douglas MacArthur and substantial American forces arrived in Australia, and a little later we learned that our men were in New Zealand as well.

For many of us this involved one more course of study in the history, geography, and social conditions of a foreign land. Till that moment few of us knew much about life "down under." Some were probably little better informed than was the American who, discovering that the woman across the table in the diner was an Australian, immediately said, "But wherever did you learn to speak English?"

From countless books and press dispatches we have learned what our men saw, heard, and thought of their "Pacific partner." If they expected to find Australia a facsimile of home, with plenty of ice cream, hamburgers, iced drinks, and coffee, and with highly plumbed camp quarters, they were speedily disappointed. But when

the first strangeness had worn off, American soldiers discovered, as did their fathers in World War I, that the Australian was like the American in many ways.

One American officer who watched part of the New Guinea campaign reported that the Australian soldiers were "even rougher and tougher than our own Marines." Australian hospitality has been bountiful and Australian girls are attractive. Mutton stew is not likely to be a popular dish in the future among those who are now being overdosed with it in Australia. Steak and eggs became such a favorite combination among troops sent to New Zealand, however, that it displaced ham and eggs for the last meal before the landing at Tarawa.

Anzacs

In the last war a new word—ANZAC—was hatched from the initials of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. From the Allied operations in the South and Southwest Pacific some such word as AMANZAC ought to emerge. In the dark days of late 1942 General MacArthur voiced his appreciation of the unanimous and complete support we were receiving, of the harmony and cooperation, and of the "magnificent spirit of friendship and understanding, without which it would have been difficult to go on." The harmony and cooperation have paid dividends in freeing Australia and New Zealand from fear of invasion, in converting these countries from a defensive base into a "formidably armed bastion of attack," and in rolling back the Japanese from their farthest outposts in New Guinea.

Getting acquainted

Cooperation will continue down the long road ahead to the end of the war. And then what? What will be the relations between ourselves and the Anzac peoples? No one can guess the whole answer; but no one would deny that our relations will be far more intimate in every field—economic, political, and cultural—than they were before 1942. We and the Australians and New Zealanders alike

are Pacific powers, with interests in or around that ocean. To Americans these interests may perhaps be of secondary rank, but to the Anzacs they are major, first-rate, vital. In any case, they are common interests and in pursuing them we can help or we can hurt each other in the postwar years.

If we are to do the former, it is well to try to know each other. Australians were formerly far more aware of us than we were of them; yet their knowledge was patchy and specialized in those seamy sides of our life of which we were not very proud. They now know that one does not get a complete picture of us from muckrakers and movies. We can return the compliment by learning something of the Australian's way of life, his problems and policies, and the things he is trying to do with himself and his country.

How are we alike?

Much of Australian life is easily understood because it is like our own. This is true in at least four respects.

In the **first** place the two countries are about the same size—3,000,000 square miles. Both are vast compact land masses. Both enjoy the assets and bear the liabilities that accompany bigness—they have a wide range of climate, resources, products, and occupations; their transportation systems have to cover long distances; and any effort to achieve national unity has had to struggle against the strong pull of local or sectional interests.

In the **second** place, the central theme in the history of each country has been the settling of a vast area by people of immigrant stock. It is a story of discovery and exploration; of immigration, free or forced; and of contact, sometimes happy but usually otherwise, with a native population which was eventually wiped out or pushed out of the way.

Then began the settlement on ranches or farms; the working out of policies by which the public domain could pass into private hands; and the construction of highways and railroads. Problems

COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

	UNITED STATES	AUSTRALIA
AREA	2,977,000 sq. mi.	2,975,000 sq. mi.
POPULATION	133,000,000	7,100,000
HISTORY	About 360 years, since 1565	About 156 years, since 1788
POLITICAL SYSTEM	Federation of 48 states	Federation of 6 states
FORM OF GOVERNMENT	Independent execu- tive and legislature	Executive cabinet responsible to legislature
ECONOMIC FEATURES	Mature on all sides World's largest cotton producer Exports perhaps one-sixth of land products	Mature agriculturally, but in process of de- velopment industrially World's largest wool producer Exports half of land products



of production had to be faced, conflicts with climate and struggles against pests—Australians used to say they had only two, rabbits and Scotsmen, but the list rapidly lengthened. Gradually mining and manufacturing industries were developed, currency and banking systems evolved, markets were found, and the business curve went up and down.

The history is thus mostly economic, and the politics have been largely concerned with economic problems. This has made the domestic story of Australia much more humdrum than our own. No war comparable to that with the French and Indians, or to the Revolution, the Mexican or Civil wars disturbed the peace. From the day when the first colony was founded in 1788 until the Japs bombed Port Darwin in early 1942, the only conflict worthy of note was a small scrap between some gold diggers and a few troops in 1854. From such a story it is hard to discover where the Australian gets his superb fighting qualities.

What about aims and outlook?

In the **third** place, the two nations are democratic in the broadest sense of that word. This is embodied in the forms of government; in the belief in equality of rights and of opportunity in political, legal, educational, and economic affairs; and in freedom of speech, press, worship, and organization. In each land there are wide gaps between the democratic ideal and the reality; and there are marked differences in the political methods, the party labels, and even the concepts of what a democracy should do. Yet these do not change the fact that they are alike in aim and outlook.

Finally, both lands enjoy a sense of self-confidence, of optimism, and of manifest destiny. We in the United States seemed to have got a bit beyond that when the greatest boom in our history blew up in our faces and plunged us into the worst depression the world has ever known; but our confidence in ourselves has been restored. We are in good company. If we were to ask an Australian, a New Zealander, a Canadian, and an American "Which is God's Own Country?" we should get four different answers.

To Australian after-dinner speakers the "unlimited potentialities" of their country and its similarity in size to ours have long served to "prove" that some day there would be 100,000,000 people living under their flag. This year we have seen the appearance of a book called *America Unlimited*. A volume entitled *Australia Unlimited* was published in 1918 and was as large as a family Bible.

This stalwart pride makes up for the lack of a long past by consciousness of a great present and certainty of a glorious future. In all parts of the New World it has strengthened the determination to pass from colony to nation, to secure self-government, to gain economic maturity by developing factories as well as farms, and to foster a national school of art, letters, music, and the like. We have got through these transitions from childhood to manhood. The Australians have completed some of them and are moving as fast as they can on the rest.

Thus the American finds much that is familiar in the Australian scene. Yet even in the basic similarities there have emerged differences, as a result of history, geography, policies, and ideals. An analysis of these will not merely help us to understand the Australian, but may make us understand ourselves better.

Australian English

The first marked difference is in speech. For some reason, on which the experts cannot agree, Australians manhandle their vowels. The "a" is sounded almost like an "i": "paper" sounds like "piper," "race" like the staple food of China and Japan, and "day" is either a coloring material or the act which brings life to an end. The vowel "u" flattens into an "a" so that "butter" is almost "batter." "Australia" sometimes sounds to an American ear as if it were spelled "Orstrylier."

The words themselves are often different, as for example "tram" for streetcar, "lift" for elevator, and "petrol" or "benzine" for gasoline. Some words have different meanings on the two sides of the Pacific. If an Australian calls you a "grafter" he is bestowing

AUSTRALIAN SLANG

drogo—rookie

cobber—a pal

tea—supper

boko—nose

crook—to feel lousy

diggers—Australians

sheila—a babe

cow—it stinks

Buckley's chance

—a long shot

joes—the blues or the

d.t.'s

fair cow—a louse or heel

dinkum oil—Gospel truth

tucker—food, chow

grafter—a good worker

shivoo—a party

ding dong—swell

cooee—yoo-hoo

bush—the sticks

push—a mob or gang

squatter—rancher

high praise on your competent discharge of a hard thankless task. But if you offer to provide him with transportation, his brow may lower, for "transportation" was the term used during the early decades of Australian history to describe what happened when a judge sentenced you to be shipped out there for a period of years or for "the term of your natural life." Finally, many words are pure creations of Australian speech. Many began as the slang of the ranch, the mine, or the town; some have passed into respectable use, but others are still not quite acceptable in the living room.

Only seven millions

The second difference is in the number of people occupying the two great land masses. We have over 130,000,000 people on our 3,000,000 square miles, and there is only one state, Nevada, with fewer than two and a half people to the square mile. The Australians have only about 7,100,000, or less than the population of Illinois or of New York City, on theirs.

Further, over 6,500,000 of them reside on a crescent-shaped expanse, ranging in depth from a few miles to about 350 miles, running down most of the east coast and then to about the middle of the south coast; or they live on the extreme southwest corner, or in the lovely little island of Tasmania, which lies an overnight sea journey from Melbourne on the south coast. In all, this inhabited area covers about a million square miles; another million carries less than 500,000 people; and the third million is so useless that not more than 10,000 persons dwell there in peacetime.

Finally, about 47 per cent of the population live in the six capital cities, 17 per cent in other towns, thus leaving only 36 per cent—about 2,500,000—to occupy the whole countryside.

These three features—small population, concentration in the east, south, and southwest, and a high degree of town life—call for some explanation. Most of that explanation is found in the climate. Little land is wasted in mountains, and most of the continent is almost as level as the valley of the Mississippi or even the prairies. It is the climate that decides how many people can live in Australia, where they can live, and what sort of work they can do.

It's either too hot or too dry

The climate is determined by the country's position on the globe. The mainland lies between 10° and 40° south latitude. In the northern hemisphere it would reach from Washington, D. C., almost to the Panama Canal, covering the Gulf of Mexico and overlapping the coast of Venezuela. Hence its temperature ranges from

warm to hot. In the southern regions it rarely gets below 40° F. in winter, with little or no frost or snow; in summer it may hang around 80° and at times dash over 100°. But 1,150,000 square miles, nearly 40 per cent of the country, lie in the tropics. Port Darwin and other places on the north coast, with all-year averages of over 80°, rank with Timbuktu and the tip of India as the hottest places in the world; and since they get their heaviest rains in the summer they stand alongside the mouth of the Congo or Calcutta as the most humidly uncomfortable places on earth.

In addition to being too hot, much of Australia is too dry. The southern settled areas enjoy the sort of climate known in California or the Mediterranean—hot dry summers and cool, occasionally wet, winter days. But the northern half lies in that belt of the globe swept by the trade winds which blow from the southeast to the equator. If these winds start over water and blow onto land they bring rain, and the northeast part of the Australian coast is therefore well watered. If, however, they start over land and blow out to sea they may dry up whatever water is there and take it where it is not wanted.

This is what happens in all northern Australia except the eastern belt. There is little rain and much evaporation, and consequently much of this area is a "trade wind desert," like the Sahara and Arabia. If the trade winds could be turned round, or if Australia could be pushed ten or fifteen degrees farther away from the equator, much of its dead heart might become a rival to our Mississippi Valley. Pending that miracle, more than a third of the continent will get less than 10 inches of rain a year, less than a third will get 10 to 20, and less than a third will receive more than 20 inches. In addition, the semiarid areas may get their rain at the wrong time; or they may get a lot one year and very little the next year.

Gamblers all

Finally, since most of the continent is subject to periodical droughts, such as those which reduced the flocks and herds by nearly half between 1890 and 1902, regions which seem safe in

good years are deathtraps when the rains fail to come. Australians have a reputation for being incorrigible gamblers; but for many of them existence itself is a gamble on the weather.

Taking all these factors into account, Australia has one-fifth the area of good land that we possess, and three times as much poor or waste land. In parts of the dry lands a ranch may cover hundreds or even thousands of square miles. The next-door neighbors may be fifty to a hundred miles away. Large areas do not contain a single human being, and even rabbits cannot live there. In some places subterranean water has been tapped to supplement the rainfall, and the River Murray, the only large river in the whole continent, has been used to irrigate some of the land along its banks.

But nothing can render two-thirds of the country capable of sustaining a large population. Most of the future growth will take place in those more favored regions of the east, south, and southwest, where work can be done without too much discomfort, where the yield can be abundant, and where leisure can be enjoyed to the full.

What do they do for a living?

Australia is not yet as old as Virginia was at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Yet it is well advanced toward the balanced, rounded economic structure that we usually associate with much older nations.

In 1933 the occupations of breadwinners were divided as follows:

	AUSTRALIA (1933)	UNITED STATES (1940)
Agricultural, pastoral, fishing, forestry.....	%	%
	20	20
Manufacturing and mining.....	22	25
Building and construction.....	12	5
Trade and transportation.....	26	27
Government, professional, and personal service.....	20	23



If we compare the figures in the two columns, we see that the distribution of occupations is remarkably similar. Land working and caring for livestock no longer provide the largest employment. More people work in mines or factories and more are engaged in moving or selling goods than are on farms and ranches. There are as many Australians in government offices or in the various service occupations—lawyers, domestic help, teachers, entertainers, physicians, beauticians, morticians, and so on—as are on the land.

Behind this diversity of occupation lies an economic development parallel in many ways to our own. Settlement began in 1788 as “a jail on a large scale,” when, after the American Revolution, the British began to send convicts to Australia to relieve the pressure on their penitentiaries.

The discovery of wool

But within twenty-five years it was discovered that sheep could be reared profitably in the country and that beyond the eastern mountains there were vast expanses of natural pasture on which they could graze. Ranchers—“squatters” as they were called—and their flocks swarmed over the plains, and by 1850 Australia had become the world’s largest producer of high-grade merino wool. The country has kept that position ever since. In the present century the flocks have usually exceeded 100,000,000 head, or one-sixth of all the sheep in the world. From them a quarter of the world’s wool supply has been shorn, including half the total output of fine wool. Of that wool—a billion pounds in most years—more than nine-tenths went to feed the looms of Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, and Japan.

Wool was Australia’s first staple product. The coming of the refrigerated ship after 1880 allowed many additions to be made to the list. Such perishables as lamb, mutton, beef, butter, dried fruits, and apples could now be carried a six- to eight-weeks journey across the equator and through the tropics to the crowded industrial markets of Britain and northwestern Europe. The rancher therefore exported carcasses as well as wool, beef as well

as hides. Dairy farmers, orchardists, and grape growers could go ahead, because their market was no longer limited to Australian consumers but included the forty million people in the British Isles and anyone else who wished to buy. Meanwhile wheat farming spread over a wide area, and the country rose eventually to tenth place among the world's grain growers. In most years Australians exported more wheat than they ate, and on the eve of World War II the country ranked third, after Canada and Argentina, as wheat exporter. Australia was also third as exporter of butter, after Denmark and New Zealand.

The gold rush

One landmark of Australia's history was the discovery of gold in 1851. Miners rushed to the rich diggings as they had flocked to California a year or two before. In ten years the population nearly trebled, rising from 400,000 to over 1,100,000, in spite of the ending of the "transportation" policy. For sixty years gold was an important product, and gradually other minerals were discovered. In 1938 Australia was fifth on the world's list of silver producers, had a large output of lead and a small one of copper, tin, and zinc. Yet more important than these, in view of what 1939 was to bring, was the mining of 12,000,000 tons of coal,



of 2,500,000 tons of iron ore, and the production of over 1,000,000 tons of pig iron and more than 1,000,000 tons of steel.

The gold rush had two other effects on Australia's economic life. In the first place, the expanded need for food stimulated agriculture, and some men who had gone out to win fortunes stayed to work farms. In the second place the gold boom ended in disillusionment when the easy pickings petered out. The hard times stirred one journalist, David Syme, to advocate a protective tariff in order to stimulate the birth and growth of manufacturing industries and thus provide more jobs. He won his battle, and in 1866 Victoria, then a state with only 350,000 people, embarked on a protective policy. New South Wales stuck to free trade, while the other four states steered a middle course. When the six states federated in 1901, the Commonwealth—as the new union was called—adopted a moderate tariff for the whole continent, with free trade between the states.

Industry on the home front

The tariff helped some industries to come into being and to grow up. Other industries grew naturally, to process the primary products of the country. When World War I came, the continent was supplying much of its needs for some consumers' goods, such as cloth, clothes, shoes, furniture, soap, and beer. It was just on the eve of establishing its first large iron and steel plant. The war reduced supplies from Britain, cut off supplies from Germany, and led to a great expansion in the volume and variety of manufacturing. Australians began to produce three hundred new commodities, from camera films to automobile bodies.

Between the two World Wars factories increased two-thirds in number. The tariff protection was increased and widened. Australian manufacturers went ahead, and their efforts were supplemented by the establishment of many British and American branch factories. British firms made their products on the spot instead of sending them from England. American firms shipped out parts and assembled them in Australia. In 1939 Australia was far

enough advanced in the range of its industries to be converted into a valuable arsenal. Steel was being produced in a giant plant more cheaply than in any other country; and most other industries were capable of being switched from peace work to war production without much delay. But the country still had to buy abroad many of the parts or the finished articles it needed. In 1939 it imported about \$500,000,000 worth of goods of all sorts, of which a third consisted of metals, metal manufactures, and machinery, a sixth was cloth and clothes, and among the rest were 50,000,000 pounds of tea, and 400,000,000 gallons of gasoline—for Australia has no oil deposits.

In return Australia exported about \$550,000,000 of her own products, virtually all of them from ranches, farms, and mines. She sent abroad 70 per cent of her pastoral output—wool, meat, and hides; 70 per cent of her mineral yield; nearly 40 per cent of her crops; and a quarter of her dairy produce. Half her total primary production went overseas, but very few of her factory products. The countryside still provided the goods which paid for the imports and met the interest bill on the large sums Australia had borrowed from the outside world. Over half those goods (55 per cent) found their market in the United Kingdom; the rest of the British Empire bought 15 per cent of them, and Continental Europe 17 per cent. Asia took one-twelfth of the goods, but apart from gold the United States bought very little.

What are the effects of isolation?

Until Japan came crashing southward, the rest of the world seemed far away from Australia. From the west coast to South Africa lay nearly 5,000 miles of ocean, and Ceylon was 3,000 miles away. From Sydney to London the distance is 12,500 miles round the Cape of Good Hope and 11,500 through the Suez or Panama canals. North America, South America, and South Africa were three weeks away from Australia, and Britain was five to seven weeks away, even on the speediest ships available. In the days of sailing ships these times were half as long again. Southward the

IMPORTANT EVENTS



1500-1770 Portuguese, Spaniards, French, Dutch, and British touch north and west coast but are glad to get away from this wasteland of "sand, sorrow, and sore eyes."

1770 Captain James Cook discovers fertile southeast coast.

1788 Penal settlement made at Sydney. Similar settlement in Tasmania soon afterward.

1813 Discovery of vast grazing plains beyond coastal mountain range starts westward movement. Sixty years of exploration of interior pave way for settlement of inhabitable areas. Four other states—Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia—founded.

1851 Gold discovered in New South Wales and Victoria. \$600,000,000 extracted in ten years. Population nearly trebles.

1850-60 Parliamentary government established in five states.

1882 First cargo of frozen meat carried successfully to London.

1890 The "Great Strike" in the ports.

1891 Labor Party in New South Wales wins many seats at general election.

1891–1900 Discussions lead to federation in Commonwealth of Australia.

1900–02 Australians take part in Boer War in South Africa.

1910 First Labor government in New South Wales, followed quickly by similar governments in other states and in federal sphere.

1914–18 Anzacs take German New Guinea and fight in Near East, Gallipoli, and on Western Front.

1915 East-West Railway completed across continent. First steel mill goes into production.

1919 Australia given mandate over ex-German New Guinea and some islands.

1921–22 Washington Disarmament Conference decrees scuttling of Australia's only battle cruiser.

1929–32 The Great Depression. Australia organizes first "Brains Trust" to make plans for recovery.

1939 Australia declares war on Germany.

1942 Japanese bomb Port Darwin—the first attack on Australian soil in the country's history.



next-door neighbor was Antarctica. Northward there was little bond of trade or travel. The dreary northern wastes isolated Australia from contact with Asia.

This isolation was partly responsible for the late discovery of the country. It accounted in part for the relatively slow growth of settlement and handicapped the continent in its competition for settlers. When a European decided to emigrate, North America was only an eight- or ten-days journey away by 1900, and it cost only \$20 to get there; Australia was six or seven weeks away, and the steerage ticket cost \$100. If he came to North America and did not like the place, he could hope to rake together enough money to pay his way back home. If he did not like Australia it would be harder to save enough to return. He had burned his boats.

Hence, even though Australian governments have usually been willing to assist migrants by paying part of the transportation cost, migration southward was usually a mere trickle compared with the broad stream flowing to New York or Montreal. Only after 1900 did the flow become substantial, thanks to vigorous effort by the governments to "sell" their country and to more liberal assistance. Yet even then, in the years 1900-39 the total net immigration was less than 600,000, or less than one year's addition to our population in the boom days at Ellis Island before 1914.

You can be choosy

Isolation has had its effect on the quality of life as well as on the quantity. If you have no near neighbor, you get the beneficial and also the harmful effects of this loneliness. You can do more or less as you like; work out your own salvation without outside interference or restraint; accept or reject what others have to offer in ideas or experience. In short, you can be "choosy."

To understand the effect of this, one need only contrast the positions of Canada and Australia. Canada, close to the United States and not far from Britain, feels the strong economic and cultural pull of these two countries. It has not been so simple and easy for her to develop her own distinctive national characteristics

or to prevent her young people from migrating southward. The Canadian reads our American columnists, sees our comics, listens to our "commercials." Like the Australian, he has been his own political master since about 1850; yet many of his political and economic problems have been created or colored by what Britain and the United States were doing. To give one instance out of many: When Congress offered homesteaders 160 acres of land free if they would live on them for five years, Canada had to go one better and offer them 160 acres after only three years' residence. In his federal "parliament" at Ottawa, one house is called the House of Commons (a British term), the other is called the Senate, a name copied from us.

What did they choose?

The Australian has felt no such persistent pressure on his policies and outlook. From Britain, and in growing measure from North America in recent decades, he can take what he likes or what suits his needs. If he reads much, his library is well stocked with British and American books, but not—until recently—with American popular magazines; and he will have many works by Australian writers. He plays English cricket and American baseball, but his football may be a brand of his own, with eighteen unarmored men on each team—and no substitutes—two tall goal posts, two shorter ones, no crossbar, and a huge oval field.

When the Australian created a federal government he adopted the pattern and even such labels as "House of Representatives" and "Senate" from us, but he rejected our separation of the legislative and executive powers and chose the British cabinet system. He will examine proposals made by Europeans and Americans for the reform of economic or political life. British labor and socialist plans have always received attention; the American ideas of Henry George and of the I.W.W. found adherents; and the revolutionary doctrines of Russian Communism have found favor with some left wingers. But none of these "imported" ideas has been overpowering. The Australian prefers to work out his own ideals and

methods, picking and choosing what seems good from abroad, but striving to produce a society and way of life on which he can with much justification stamp the label "Made in Australia."

What sort of society has he tried to build? The answer can best be given under four headings:

It is homogeneous, white, and "British" rather than a melting pot.

It is democratic.

It is self-contained and self-reliant.

It is radical in its search for social justice and for freedom from the poverty and wide differences of class and income of the Old World.

White and British

The Australian population is 99 per cent of European origin; it is about 98 per cent of British background; and over 86 per cent of it is Australian-born.

Contrast these conditions with those of North America. In Canada about 30 per cent of the people are descendants of the original French settlers, about 50 per cent are of British stock, and the remainder hail from almost every country in Europe or from the United States, with a few from Asia. Our own American population has still more elements, with various European national strains and a large Negro element.

Australia's whiteness is the result of timing and of policy. Slavery had been abolished in the British Empire before Australia really began to grow. During the gold rush 50,000 Chinese came to work on the ranches or diggings. Many went back home later, but some remained to work in mines, truck gardens, furniture factories, and other enterprises. Later, when sugar plantations were developed on the tropical coast of Queensland, some natives were brought in from the Pacific islands.

Yet even in the gold-rush days many miners and wage earners felt that Asiatic immigration would endanger and depress living standards. Consequently one of the earliest policies advocated by labor unions was the limitation or prohibition of nonwhite immigration. To this economic fear of damage to material standards, others—political, moral, and cultural—were added. Our experience in the United States, and that of South Africans faced with a large native problem, suggested to the Australians that it would be good for nonwhite people and white settlers alike if the continent could be spared one vexing problem.

Various restrictive laws were passed by the states, and in 1901 the first federal Parliament decreed that any person who failed to pass a dictation test of fifty words in a European language could be excluded as illiterate. In practice Europeans were not subjected to the test, at least until after 1920; but if a nonwhite person sought entry as a permanent settler he was given the test—in some language which it was certain he did not know.

The empty spaces

In this way "White Australia" became the national policy, or rather the national dogma, like our Monroe Doctrine. No party would dare to question it, few individuals would care to criticize it, and every Australian would fight to defend this determination to keep Australia a white man's continent. Whether he can develop it adequately with only white labor is obviously a crucial question. Outside the tropics he has had no difficulty in doing that job. But he would readily admit he has achieved very little in the north, and he was greatly relieved when the geographers informed him that much of the north is unfit for settlement by anybody. That news justified his preference for living in the greater physical comfort and wider economic opportunities of the south.

Given peace and security from external attack, there was no reason why he should settle the inhospitable north. If the area had been much good for settlement, the natives of Asia or of the Pacific islands would probably have gone there long before the

white man knew there was a Pacific Ocean. But if war threatens and security vanishes, an empty north may be a serious menace. Steps were therefore taken just before 1939 to strengthen one or two northern outposts, and since Pearl Harbor much of the region has been opened up by construction of roads, airfields, supply centers, and other military facilities. Some of this work may have permanent effects in increasing settlement. Air conditioning, improved medical methods, and better living conditions may make life less unbearable up north; but if the economic resources are scanty, no more people will wish to live there than did in the past.

From the mother country

The Britishness—98 per cent—of the population is not the result of any closed-door policy. Continental Europeans have been as free to enter as were British subjects, but they usually chose North America for their new home. When Australian governments tried to get settlers by assisting them to buy their tickets, they began and usually ended with appeals to inhabitants of the mother country. The largest Continental European group in Australia is Italian.

After World War I, when the United States almost closed its doors to immigration, more Europeans turned their eyes to Australia. Italians, for example, began to pour out there and made their way to the sugar plantations. This new influx threatened to disturb the country's balance and traditions, and the immigration rules were therefore made stiffer. Without going as far as we did with our quota system, Australia sought to control the size and composition of its population. In the 1933 census, 80 per cent of the people born overseas had come from the British Isles, 7 per cent from the other white-faced parts of the Empire, 11 per cent from Continental Europe, 2 per cent from Asia, and a mere handful—about 6,000—from the United States.

Is "Britishness" good or bad?

This Britishness has had its virtues and its defects. The new-

comers spoke the language of the country of their adoption, and did not need to attend classes to learn English. They were used to handling pounds, shillings, and pence, to driving on the left side of the road, and to tea drinking. They were accustomed to the ideas, codes of conduct, law observance, economic system, form of government, and social standards that they found "down under." They knew about voting, political parties, labor unions, factory acts, Saturday afternoon holidays, and Sundays on which nobody worked—not even entertainers and drugstore clerks. They did not need to be subjected to anything comparable to our efforts in Americanization. They had no division of loyalties. If Australia became their first love, the British Isles was their second, and even native-born Australians would often refer to those Isles as "home."

The defects are less easily assessed or described. They consist chiefly, perhaps, of a certain monotony of approach to problems, of attitudes—and of menus. Perhaps a more mixed population would have been less disposed to take some things for granted, would have wanted to discuss whether the British way was the best way of doing things, and might have instilled a greater liking for the land, for music, for varied dishes, for wine instead of whisky or beer, and even for bullfighting as well as horse racing. Our experience in the United States can help us to decide what price Australia has paid for her homogeneity; and since the Aussie will probably insist that the price was well worth paying, a good argument can be expected—and a long one—for there is probably no standard or measure by which it can be settled.

Self-rule and how it grew

By 1850, within sixty-two years of the founding of the penal settlement, the Australian colonies had secured the right to rule themselves. By 1860 five of the six had the machinery of responsible representative self-government at work. The sixth (Western Australia) got it in 1889, and similar machinery was set up when the federation came into being in 1901.

Self-government means what it says. The colonies gained complete control of their own affairs as fragments of veto power from London disappeared. Then the federal government took charge of those wider matters which were transferred to it by the states—defense, interstate and overseas commerce, the tariff, external relations, and so forth. By rapid stages it assumed the rank of a self-governing dominion, with its own army, navy, ministers, consuls, treaty-making powers, and the right to stay out of or enter any war in which Great Britain became involved.

Responsible government means the British system of cabinet responsibility to Parliament, in contrast to our division of powers between the legislature and the executive. It was not so much an imported article as a natural growth by installments between 1820 and 1850. The colonists who won it were not democrats. They were men of means and substance, who hoped to be able to run the country as they thought best.

This might have produced a "squattocracy"—government of the country by the squatters for the squatters. But close on the heels of their victory came the gold rush. Most of the rushers came from Europe, then in the throes of political and economic turmoil. On the Continent the revolutions of 1848 had sought to limit despotisms and obtain popular constitutions. In England the Chartist had for years been insisting that the wrongs of the poor could be redressed only if Parliament was made more representative of the people, and they had clamored for such things as universal manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and payment of legislators.

Seeds of democracy

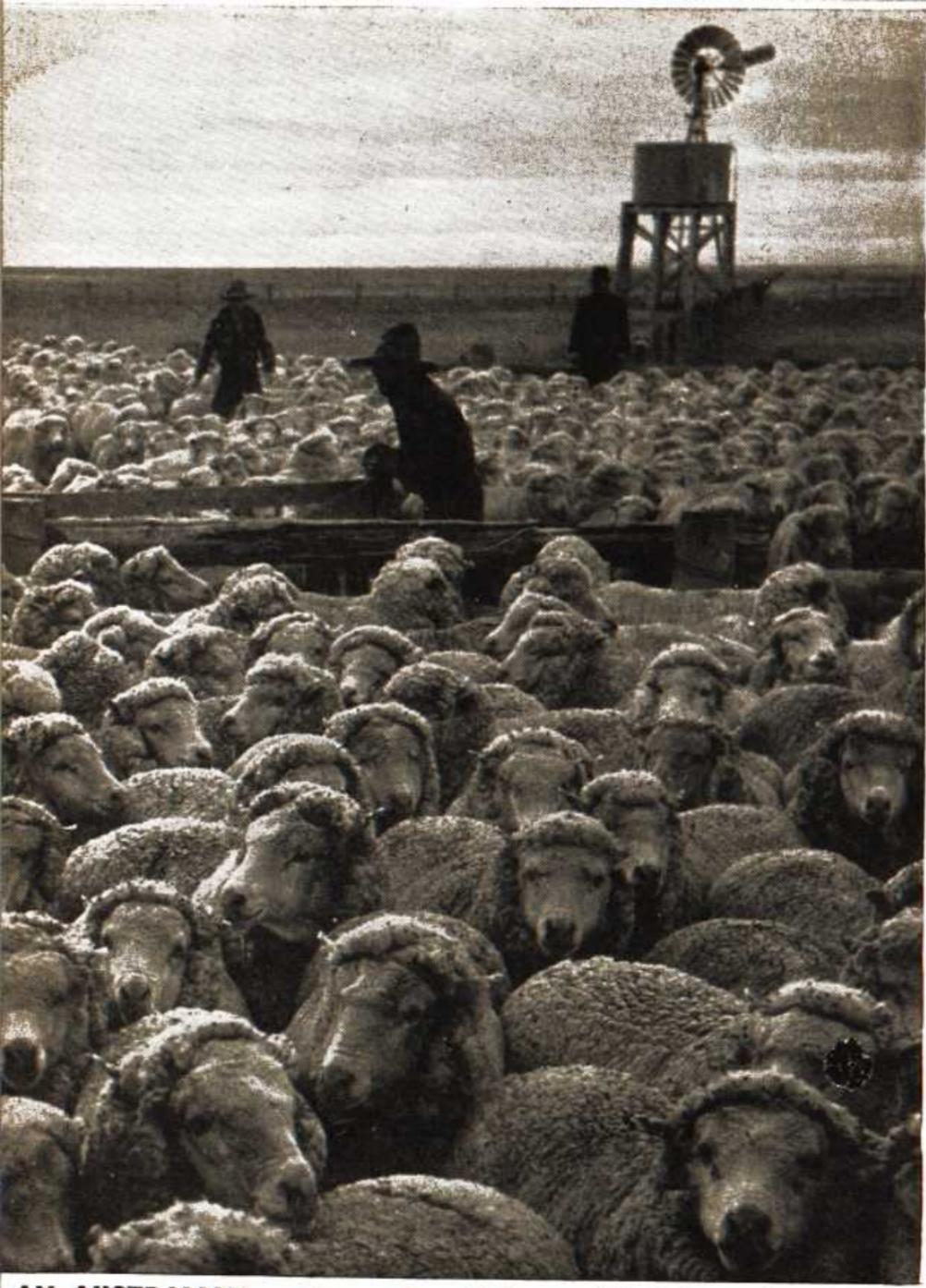
Some of these ideas were planted in Australian soil and quickly produced a crop. Vote by ballot was introduced into the first constitutions. Some states began with manhood suffrage, and the others got round to it later for one of the two legislative houses which each state set up. Women were given the vote in South Australia in 1894, close on the heels of New Zealand (1893),



MEET Australia's Laughing Jackass. It's party name is the Kookaburra and it lives in no other country.



AN ORPHAN kangaroo, three months old, hits the bottle. Australia has a whole set of native animals all its own.



AN AUSTRALIAN mutton and wool factory. Wool from sheep like these merino ewes is the foundation of the country's biggest business.



SYDNEY, Australia's largest city, has more than a million and a quarter people. Its beautiful harbor and bridge are world famed.



THE SIGHTS of Melbourne. A flyer of the Royal Australian Air Force guides a couple of sailors around the capital of Victoria.



A MAN of the people. John Curtin, Australia's prime minister since October 1941, rose to the top through the ranks of labor.



FREE SPEECH on the soapbox and free heckling from the audience are cherished traditions. Sunday afternoon in a Sydney park.



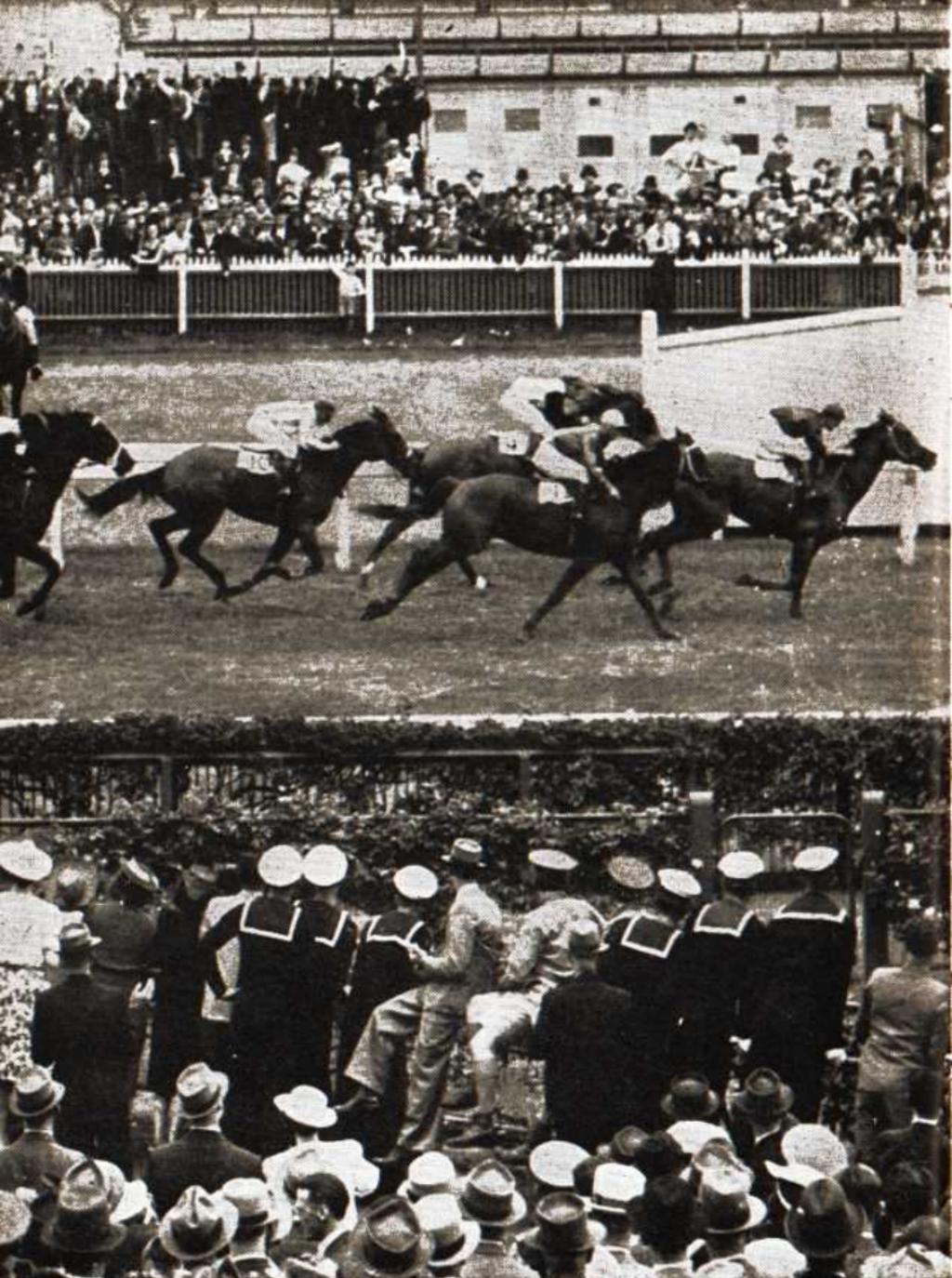
BALLOTS AND BULLETS. With the Japs not far away and some GI's looking on, Aussies in New Guinea sign the voting register.



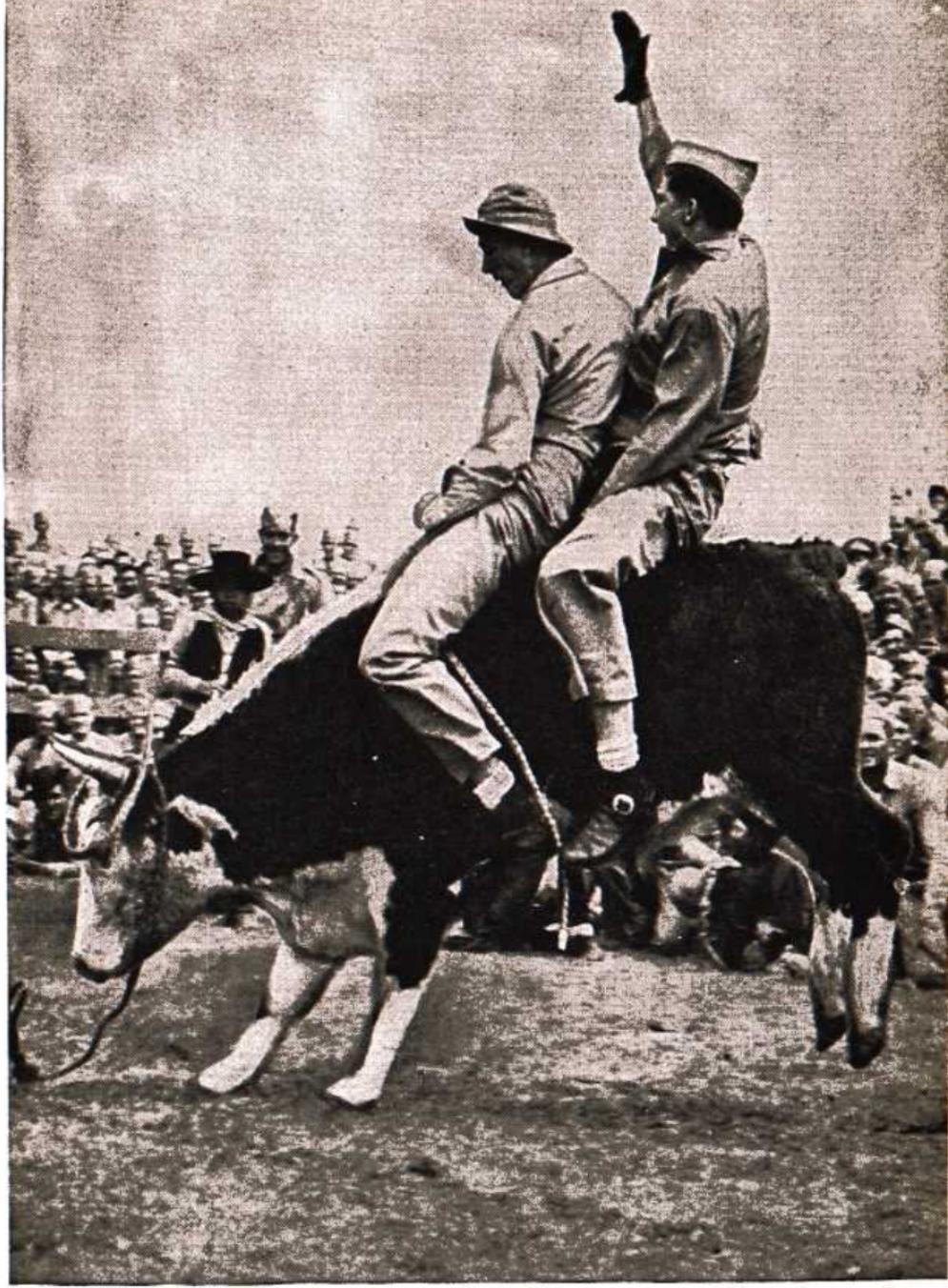
IN MELBOURNE the spires of St. Paul's Cathedral dominate the skyline of the city on the banks of the quiet Yarra River.



BULLOCK TEAMS in the timber country. Most of the timber from Australia's few forests is hardwood from the eucalyptus tree.



IN PEACE OR IN WAR, horse racing and betting on the races is as much a part of Australian life as baseball is in America.



GI JOKERS bucking for a fall. The guests at this rodeo and barbecue in Australia were all veterans of South Pacific actions.



IT MAY LOOK like checkers to you, but to these oldsters enjoying the winter sunshine in Hyde Park, Sydney, it's draughts.



SURROUNDED by sergeants. This traffic cop in an Australian city seems to have a bit of Old Erin in his smile.

and in 1902 all women were enfranchised for federal elections. In later years compulsory voting was introduced, and the person who failed to vote was fined about six dollars. In the federal election of 1943 soldiers over eighteen years of age who were fighting abroad had the right to vote.

Voting in Australia is a less strenuous business than with us. Normally elections come once in every three years, and the state elections do not take place at the same time as the federal contests. Votes are cast only for the members of the legislature, and not for any administrative officers or judges. The cabinet members are chosen by the victorious party from among the elected representatives; and judges are appointed, never elected.

Payment of salaries to members of Parliament began in 1889 and soon became nation-wide. This payment opened the road to the highest political offices, and it has been trodden by many men who started from the humblest homes. Among the federal prime ministers — the nearest equivalent to our presidents — we find miners, labor-union secretaries, a country doctor, a neighborhood storekeeper, a grade-school teacher, and a small-town accountant. The present prime minister, Mr. John Curtin, became a printer's apprentice at twelve years of age, then was secretary of a lumberjacks' union, and then a journalist on a Labor paper. His war cabinet includes two railroad workers, a barber, a teacher of electrical engineering, a patternmaker, a farmer, a newspaper pro-



prietor, and a lawyer who worked his way up to a judgeship of the High Court of Australia and then resigned to become a Labor member of Parliament.

Checks and balances

In the federal field democratic government has reached about the highest possible point. In the states it is curbed to some extent by the existence of two legislative houses. One of them—the Assembly—is chosen by full adult suffrage, but the other—the Council—is either nominated for life or is elected by owners of real estate, householders, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and military or naval officers. The Council is a legacy of the old days when property, position, or the practice of a profession was thought to confer rights to special consideration. This restricted franchise helps to make the Council more conservative than the Assembly. Its members are older men, usually ranchers, business or professional men. They serve without pay, and are likely to look with suspicion on change, especially a change which is going to injure themselves or their class.

The Councils have been a brake, slowing down and sometimes even stopping the wheels temporarily; but the record of bills actually passed shows that if there was enough popular driving force the resistance was eventually overcome and the wheels started turning again. The Labor Party has been the chief victim of delay and has therefore sought to abolish the Councils. It succeeded in doing so in Queensland in 1922 and in other states there has been some curbing of the Council's power to amend or reject bills. Yet the Councils still have considerable power and are the defenders of states' rights against attempts to transfer increased authority to the federal government.

Democratic aims

The most interesting features of Australian democracy are not the machinery of government, but the way it has been used, the men and parties who have operated it, and the policies they

have pursued. Here we find some marked differences between American and Australian experience. American democracy was born in a rural society. It inherited the Revolutionary dislike of an overseas government and was therefore prone to dislike all government restraint, regulation, and taxation, though it did not object to government help. The business of government was to let you have land free or cheaply, to aid you in developing industry or trade, and to protect you from being oppressed by big fellows—unless you were a big fellow yourself. For the rest, you wanted to be left alone to exploit the vast resources of the ever moving frontier, and to grow as rich as you possibly could, because there would still be plenty of resources left for others.

Australian democracy took shape almost a century later. Its founders had grown up in the industrial urban society that emerged in early nineteenth-century Britain, in an atmosphere full of ideas about improving that society. The belief that the best government was the one which did least was being challenged. In its place the notion was growing that a fully representative government could and should do many things to promote the economic welfare of its people.

In addition to the gap of nearly a century between the two attitudes, there was a vast difference between the resources available in the two countries. We had enough of them to supply free or cheap land to all comers all the way to the Rockies. But if the Australian left the coastal belt he was soon in the badlands. We seemed to have enough minerals and forests for everybody; but Australia had no such treasure-house, and hence it might be desirable to prevent some people from getting too much for fear that many would not get enough.

These two contrasts in outlook and resources help to explain three of the problems confronting Australian democracy. They were the land problem, the industrial problem, and the labor problem.

The land problem

Like ourselves, Australians dreamed of a countryside settled by prosperous family farms. But whereas much of our good land was not settled until the farmer came to it, the best lands in Australia were first occupied by sheep. If farms were to be found, it had to be done by displacing the squatter, and pushing him farther back in order to make way for the plow. Various laws were passed to allow a farmer to go onto a ranch, select a desirable patch, settle on it, improve it, and then buy it. But the sheepmen naturally resented this attack on them and their industry, and resisted it, not with guns but by buying the "eyes" of their ranches—the good pieces, river banks, and water holes—thus rendering the rest of the area useless to anyone else. Out of this battle between squatter and "selector," the former usually emerged victorious and the farming area spread only very slowly.

Eventually other methods were tried. Some of the large ranches were bought back by the governments, supplied with railroads, irrigated where possible, and cut up into farms which were sold to settlers. After World War I more land was bought and made into farms, orchards, vineyards, and so forth, for over 30,000 veterans. Meanwhile attempts have been made to compel large landowners to break up their holdings or to put them to better use. The weapon used was a land tax which was especially heavy on large estates and on land owned by absentees. The result of these plans has not been remarkably good. The "closer settlements" on repurchased lands have done well, though the land was expensive. The soldier settlements were a mixed success, for at least a third of the veterans eventually quit their holdings and the governments lost well over \$100,000,000 on the scheme.

The industrial problem

With federation it became possible to adopt a nation-wide policy of encouraging the development of manufacturing industries and soon high tariffs became the accepted creed of the chief political parties. National pride favored the policy. "Australia for the

Australians!" meant little if Australians could not buy their own products. What good was it to be politically free and independent if they were still hewers of wood and drawers of water for others? "Shall Australia be a sheep-run or a nation?" asked the highly nationalistic *Sydney Bulletin*, and continued: "To live on the back of a merino sheep is comparatively easy, but it is not inspiring." To live in the shadow of a factory smokestack evidently was.

During the first World War self-sufficiency was justified on the grounds of defense. At most times Labor was ready to support a high tariff on the ground that it made possible the preservation of a high standard of living. The products of the "sweatshops" of Europe or of Asiatics who lived on the proverbial "handful of rice" must be excluded. This argument could not very well be applied against the high-wage products of North America; at that point therefore the plea might be shifted to the folly of letting the products of mighty American trusts come in, to the madness of "sending money" out of the country to furnish employment for people in other lands, or even to the silliness of buying anything abroad which could be made in Australia, irrespective of price.

The labor problem

Australia is best known to the rest of the world as a continent where for about half a century Labor has been one of the most powerful political parties and has pursued policies which seem radical to outsiders. At present Labor governments are in power in four states and in the federal field. In some states a Labor ministry is as normal as is a Democratic government in some of our southern states or a Republican one in Maine.

This condition is the result of the development of strong labor unions at an early stage in the country's development. The free immigrants of the 1840's and 1850's came from Britain, where labor was just getting organized and voicing its demands for standard wage rates and an eight-hour day. In Australia wages were good during the gold days, but the weather was hot; so the immigrants formed craft unions, demanded an eight-hour day,

and got it. Soon eight hours became the standard working day throughout the continent.

As organization spread to mining, shipping, and sheepshearing, the unions sought to maintain wages in times of depression or falling prices; to stop the entry and use of Chinese; or to persuade parliaments to pass better labor laws, widen the franchise, and improve the educational system. At times they felt that some day it might be necessary to elect representatives of their own instead of pressing or persuading the old-line parties to action. Much collective bargaining was accomplished, and relations between employers and employed were often quite good.

In 1890, however, the lid blew off. Employers, faced with falling prices, tried to reduce wages. Labor retorted by demanding the closed shop. Strikes swept the mines, wharves, ships, and ranches during 1890-94, and in every case the strikers lost the fight. For the time being, the unions seemed to be down and out, but after 1900 they recovered and advanced rapidly. By 1912, 1 in every 11 of the population was a member of some union; by 1920 it was 1 in every 8, and by 1943 it was 1 in every 6½. The membership in 1943 was over 1,100,000, which would be equivalent to 21,000,000 in the United States.

Labor in politics

Beaten in its conflicts with capital, labor turned to the ballot box. In 1891—within less than a year of the failure of the “Great Strike” of 1890—a Labor party had been formed in New South Wales and had won 36 out of 45 seats for which it put up candidates. Within ten years there was a Labor group in every parliament, state or federal. The first Labor majority was won in New South Wales in 1910 and by 1915 Labor controlled every government in Australia but one.

Labor's success has been the result of a strong appeal and a strong organization. The first appeal was to wage earners, for the party's primary aim was to safeguard and improve working

conditions by political action. All through the years this aim has been uppermost in the program. It had been fairly well realized even before World War I, and only minor additions have been made since then.

Some enthusiasts would have the party go further and adopt a socialist program and philosophy. The philosophy has always found supporters, including zealots who are eager to win converts to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. But the converts have been few and the results meager; the Australian worker does not take easily to long-worded abstractions.

Socialism and state enterprise

The socialist program, with its plan for the public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, was another matter, however. To the Australian there is nothing sacred about private enterprise and nothing sacrilegious about state enterprise. He argues that if you need something which private enterprise will not supply because there is no profit in it, let the state do the job. Better still, he says, why bother to wait and see what private enterprise will do?

Australia had to build almost all its railroads by state action, because early private efforts broke down. The telegraph and telephone are natural parts of the postal system. When a corporation began to construct a huge hydroelectric plant in Tasmania and then quit, the state had to finish the job. When Victoria's expanding industries suffered from lack of cheap coal and electricity, the state tapped the large brown-coal deposits it owned, used part for generating electricity, and turned the rest into briquettes.

State enterprise is thus an old tale in Australia, and men who would have been violently angry if they were called socialists wrote some important chapters of it. But Labor wanted the state to do still more, especially where capitalistic services seemed to be bleeding employees or the consumer. Eventually in 1921 the party adopted as its ultimate objective "the socialization of industry, production, distribution, and exchange."

Yet the list of enterprises which Labor has socialized when it has been in power is very small. In 1912 a Labor government set up the Commonwealth Bank, to handle the government's account and to compete with the existing banks. Perhaps it has served as a check on them, but it certainly did not destroy them. Soon it became the country's "central bank," discharging the functions of our Federal Reserve System. But it has not been either the slayer of its rivals or the slave of its creator, and any socialists who thought it would provide them with money to rattle in their pockets whenever they wanted some have been terribly disappointed. A Commonwealth fleet of steamships started in 1916 lost so much money that the government was glad to get rid of it in 1928.

The rest of the list of ventures looking to the socialization objective seems to be one of failures. Experience has evidently shown the Australians that public enterprise is no magic panacea.

The labor platform

The chief economic achievement of the Labor Party has therefore been the regulation of private enterprise in the interests of the wage earner. But Labor has had to make a wider appeal if it hoped to win elections. It must obtain the support of that middle class—or middle-of-the-road class—which is not bound to any union or political party, and which judges between Liberal and Labor on the basis of their platforms or performance.

That middle class favored some of Labor's labor aims. It also liked the democratic and progressive proposals for electoral reform, improved education, general social betterment, help to farmers, attacks on monopolies, and so on. Beyond that, it approved the party's championing of Australian nationalism, for Labor was more wholehearted in its advocacy of White Australia, federation, a navy, and a citizen army than were the anti-Labor parties.

Thus Labor won some middle-class support because it was for labor, some because it was for healthy social progress, and some

because it was for Australia. On the other hand it lost that support when its appeal was to narrow class interests rather than to the wider welfare.

The labor machine

The success of any party must depend in some measure on the strength of the machine it builds up. Labor was quick to learn this lesson and did a thorough job. In each state there is a party organization, with branches which anyone can join. Most unions affiliate with the party, and supply the greater part of the membership, funds, and leadership, though some nonunionists have managed to rise to the top. The party shapes its platform at annual conferences, and candidates who are chosen to fight the next election swear complete loyalty to the platform.

They do more: They pledge themselves, if elected, to vote in the house as a majority of the Parliamentary party decides at its weekly secret meeting, or "caucus" as it is called. The caucus chooses the men who are to be ministers when the party wins a majority of seats. Thus solidarity and unity are maintained in face of the opposition. Finally, the party executive keeps its eyes on the members of Parliament to see that they do their job and honor their pledges.

This machinery produced the desired disciplined solidarity and gave the party the maximum fire power in its attacks on the old parties. But when Labor got into power, difficulties might arise. Ministers found that it was not always easy to translate the platform into laws and they might be attacked by the executive or conference for faintheartedness or heresy. Or some unexpected development might face the party with problems for which it had no ready-made solution. If this happened, all the discipline and pledges in the world could not preserve unity, and the party might be torn asunder.

In 1916 the party split over conscription and wandered in the wilderness for over a decade. Then in 1929, just when it had

reached the promised land of office again, the depression came, and it split once more over methods of dealing with the disaster. For another ten years it roamed the wastelands of opposition, returning to power once more in 1941. Faced with the dire danger of invasion, the party has readily accepted policies which probably would have torn it apart ten, twenty, or thirty years ago.

Regulating wages

Of all Australian experiments, the governmental regulation of wages is the most famous. The practice is now forty years old, and is taken for granted by employer and employee alike.

Like most living things, it had two parents. One was the desire to stamp out "sweating." In the early 1890's Australians were shocked to learn that some men, women, and children were working excessively long hours in unhealthy homes or workshops for miserably low pay. Vigorous agitations burst out to demand that such people be paid a living wage. The second parent was the desire to preserve industrial peace. The strikes of 1890 disturbed Australians. "There ought to be a law," they cried, to prevent this young country from being torn by such strife. If employers and employees could not settle their differences peacefully, let them be compelled to submit their disputes to some court of arbitration and be bound to abide peacefully by its decision.

From this double agitation emerged the machinery for the regulation of wages. It is of two kinds. The first is the wages board, consisting of equal numbers of employers and employees in an industry, with an independent chairman. It fixes wages for the industry and these rates are enforced by the state. The first boards were set up in Victoria in 1896; there were over 500 in the various states by 1913; and nearly 700 by 1939.

The second kind of machinery is the court of industrial arbitration. The first one was set up in New South Wales in 1901 and in three other states later on. In 1904 the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration was established to settle disputes which extended beyond the limits of one state. To such a court

either side, organized in an employers' or employees' union, may submit notice of a dispute. The matter is argued before a special high-ranking judge or judges. Then the court gives its award, which is binding. If either side rejects it and resorts to lockout or strike, punitive action can be taken.



The basic wage

Since most disputes concern wages, the courts and the boards have been chiefly engaged in determining rates of pay. A "basic wage" is fixed for the least skilled type of work. To this figure additions are then made for skill, degree of responsibility, regularity of employment, overtime, etc. In fixing the basic wage the judges were told to decide what was "fair and reasonable."

In 1907 Mr. Justice Higgins said that a fair and reasonable wage must be large enough to meet the "normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilized community." He decided that \$1.75 was a fair and reasonable basic daily wage, and this amount became the accepted figure on which other rates were fixed. It was regarded as the bare minimum needed to keep a family of four or possibly five persons; and hence the basic wage for women was fixed much lower, on the ground that a woman had to maintain only herself. Then the practice was gradually established of periodically raising or lowering the basic rate, and therefore the higher rates, in accordance with changes in the cost of living as revealed by an index number compiled by the commonwealth statistician.

In this way the pay of most wage earners has been regulated for the last thirty years, as has the salary of journalists, bank clerks, public employees, and other white-collar workers for about twenty years. Like every other method of determining wages or settling labor questions, it has been the subject of constant criticism. Labor has insisted that the base is too narrow and low; that no married man can keep a wife and two or three children at a decent standard on the figure fixed; that many women have dependents to maintain; and that the index number is not sufficiently accurate to measure changes in the cost of living. Many of these criticisms have been met by broadening the base, by adding to the basic rate, by increasing the margin for skill, and by schemes of child endowment when a family contains more children than are supposed to be covered by the wage.

Employers and some observers have pointed out that since many men are unmarried or have no children, industry is paying for the support of a lot of nonexistent people. They used to complain that no thought was given to what industry could afford to pay.

But this criticism has been met in lean times by reducing wages on account of "absence of prosperity." When prices and living costs began to fall in 1929, the federal court cut wages in proportion each quarter, thus reducing employers' labor costs but leaving the purchasing power of the wages untouched. In January 1931, however, the court said that the loss in national income caused by the depression must be shared by wage earners and it therefore reduced wages by 10 per cent in purchasing power. This cut, combined with those made because of falling prices, brought money wages down by nearly 30 per cent and thus lowered production costs substantially. When better times came the wages were raised again. The whole matter was handled fairly smoothly and was accepted peacefully.

Australia and the outside world

Until almost the beginning of the present century Australians and New Zealanders could pursue their political and social ambitions

without any thought of external danger. The British navy was their sure shield, and they need give little attention to defense. When Germany entered the western Pacific and annexed the north-east part of New Guinea and some adjacent islands in 1884, this sense of security was slightly jolted. Some of the Australian states pleaded with Britain to do something, and the upshot was that southeastern New Guinea was made a British protectorate and then a crown colony. When the Commonwealth was created, this colony was handed over to Australia as the "Dependency of Papua."

To that dependency Australia applied a virtually new principle in colonial administration. White settlers could come if they wished, but the welfare of the natives was to be the first and all-important consideration. These primitive peoples, instead of being wiped out, downtrodden, or degraded, were to be helped and guided out of their Stone-Age conditions, intertribal wars, head-hunting, and sorcery toward modern ideas of peace and justice. If they worked for white planters, their wages, food, clothing, and housing must be safeguarded, and they were to labor only fifty hours a week. If they worked on their own land, they were to be helped to become efficient well-equipped farmers.

Patiently the administrator, Mr. Justice Murray, pursued this policy from 1907 to his death in 1940, peacefully persuading, inspiring faith rather than fear, winning cooperation instead of forcing surrender. His labors had their reward when the time of testing came in 1942-43. As the Japs advanced toward Port Moresby, the capital of Papua, and were pushed back over the Owen Stanley range, the Australians had the unstinted support of the natives. There was no fifth column in Papua.

The last war and after

In the early days of World War I Australia and New Zealand quickly captured the German outposts in New Guinea, Samoa, and elsewhere. Then they threw their weight into the war in Europe and the Near East. About 420,000 Australians volunteered, or one-eleventh of the whole population, and 330,000 went overseas. They

suffered 320,000 casualties and 60,000 of them died. Australia lost one in every 93 of her people; New Zealand lost one in every 66; we lost one in every 2,000.

For such a costly contribution, Australia and New Zealand, like the other dominions, sought direct representation at the peace table. They also fought to retain the ex-German possessions and to obtain larger reparations than President Wilson had intended Germany should pay. The territories were mandated to them under the League of Nations, and Australia therefore controlled the northeastern part of New Guinea as well as Papua.

With the German menace removed and then with Japan apparently satisfied by the terms of the Washington Conference of 1921-22, Australia turned her back on world affairs. The Pacific seemed safe once more. The navy's flagship was scuttled in 1924 under the terms of the Washington disarmament agreement, and compulsory military training was suspended in 1929. Expenditure on defense was down to about \$5 a head by that year and during the depression the amount fell still lower. Like ourselves, Australians did not want to be worried by unpleasant events that were taking place far away. It was hard enough work to nurse the country back to prosperity without having to be diverted by external troubles.



New Zealand under its new Labor government urged strong League action against Italy's invasion of Abyssinia and against other aggressors. But Australia was unconcerned and willing to accept appeasement if peace could be preserved thereby. Not till 1936 or 1937 was there any awakening to the need for vigorous rearmament, and little had been accomplished when World War II began.

When this war came

Australia and New Zealand flung themselves of their own will into the war against Germany. Their divisions were in the grim and sometimes hopeless fight in North Africa, Greece, Crete, and Syria. The Australian navy worked in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean. Their airmen flew Spitfires in the Battle of Britain, bombers over Germany, and patrol planes over the Atlantic.

After the fall of France, the Australian government obtained power to require citizens to place themselves, their services, and their property at the disposal of the Commonwealth, and to supplement the enormous voluntary enlistment by reviving compulsory military service for home defense. The whole speed of preparation became faster and the scope wider. For while Anzaes fought beyond Suez, they could not forget that Japan was not, as in 1914, an ally of Britain, but a member of the Axis. They hoped to conciliate her, and in 1940 sent the chief justice of the High Court of Australia as the first minister to Tokyo. If the worst came, Singapore might protect them, and perhaps we should be provoked to action.

The worst came, and was far worse than anyone expected. By early 1942 the situation for Australia was as grave as was that of Britain after Dunkirk. The Japs rimmed round the north coast and got to within thirty-two air miles of Port Moresby. Zeros played havoc with the defenses at Port Darwin. Over 18,000 Australians had been killed or captured in Malaya, and much of the rest of the army was far away in the Mediterranean zone. The

little, scattered navy was suffering loss after loss, and the sea lanes to the outer world were in danger of being cut.

Work or fight

All this called for help from without and for a heroic effort within. Prime Minister Curtin's slogan "Work, fight, or perish!" ranks with Mr. Churchill's "Blood, sweat, and tears," and it was as readily accepted as the only way to salvation. Every available person was mobilized, and by the end of 1942, 70 per cent of the people between 14 and 65 years were in uniform or in war work. Nonessential occupations were cut down: the stock exchanges were closed, except for the sale of bonds; engagement rings were no longer to be made; women under forty-five years were forbidden to work as chorus girls; men were forbidden to work in bars; the number of race meetings was reduced four-fifths and the output of beer one-third. Clothing was rationed, and shirts were shortened five inches. Men were transferred from white-collar jobs to factories, and a mobile labor force of fifty thousand volunteers and draftees who were unfit for military service was swung from place to place constructing the roads, dry docks, munitions plants, airdromes, hospitals, etc., needed by Australian and American forces.

Profits were limited to 4 per cent on the capital invested instead of 4 per cent of the turnover. Labor cooperated eagerly and fully, abandoning its traditional hard-won rights. Management rivaled labor in its readiness to achieve results. Prices were strictly controlled and in 1943 were pegged at about 23 per cent above prewar levels. The freezing of wages automatically followed. When some strikes occurred, the government decided that strikers, or employers who provoked a strike, were to lose their deferred or protected status and be called up instantly by the draft officials. "Work or fight!" became the policy of a Labor government.

Lend-lease in reverse

In addition to meeting its own needs, Australia met many of those

of the United States, India, New Zealand, and distant Britain. About one-sixth of the war expenditure—and therefore one-twelfth of the national income in 1943 went into this reverse lend-lease or "reciprocal aid." It included every possible contribution, from nine-tenths of the food for American troops to a hospital with room for 4,250 beds for our Army. In order to supply this "reciprocal need," civilians were put on short rations, especially of meat and clothing, and were deprived entirely of canned goods, pork, citrus fruits, and candies.

Such a record stands as high in quality and relative quantity as that of any of the uninvaded United Nations. What does the Aussie hope to get in return? His own answer is, "World conditions in which we may secure peace, national development, and prosperity for our people in accordance with our ideals of a democratic way of life." That involves thinking as well as fighting, and the blueprints are already being made, both domestic and international.

Plans for the peace

The domestic plans include efforts to increase the continent's population by stimulating immigration to the utmost. It is now frankly recognized that Australia cannot hope to hold indefinitely a large continent with a small population and a declining birth rate. When the worst has been said about the badlands, there is room in the country for 20,000,000 people at Australian standards of living, and Australians admit that the sooner this figure is approached the better. Other plans include vast housing schemes, the fullest possible use of labor, capital, and resources, the continuance of the war-stimulated industries where possible, a large program of public works, and far-reaching developments in social security from the cradle to the grave.

In the international sphere, the Anzacs, without ceasing to be aware of the extent to which their fate is wrapped up with that of Britain and Europe, have become strongly Pacific-conscious. To them the Far East is now the Near North. As one of their

historians said in 1941, "We in Australia and New Zealand are European in our traditions and outlook. Still we do live in the Pacific. We have the double task of understanding both our European background and our Pacific surroundings. Our lives will be influenced not only by what happens in London or Berlin, but more and more by what happens in Chungking or Tokyo, Honolulu or Washington." Since 1939 Australia has established legations in the United States, Japan, China, Russia, and the Netherlands—all Pacific countries or empires. She also has "high commissioners," the equivalent of ambassadors, in Britain, Canada, New Zealand, and India—fellow members of the British Commonwealth.

Cooperation in the future

The future, as Australians and New Zealanders see it, calls for three kinds of collaboration. The first is between their two dominions in all matters of common concern, such as defense, civil aviation, commerce, foreign policy, and industrial development. Until the Japs struck, the two countries rarely worked together or even talked together.

The second is a larger measure of consultation between all the members of the British Commonwealth, so that the views of each dominion can be expressed, and perhaps a common policy for the whole group may emerge. In the past, Australian labor has been very suspicious of any plan which might look like "binding the Empire together"; but now its leaders stoutly proclaim that "the



evolution of the British Commonwealth has exemplified the manner in which autonomous nations can cooperate on matters of mutual interest" and "has given the world a notable demonstration of the working of an international democracy" (Prime Minister Curtin). They want more consultation and collaboration.

The third is collaboration for the maintenance of "international peace and security" pending "the re-establishment of law and order" and the setting up of a "general international organization." (The quoted words are from the Moscow Declaration, signed by the four great powers in November 1943.) Inside the temporary and permanent systems of world security, the Anzac governments propose that a "regional zone of defense" be marked out in the South and Southwest Pacific, based on Australia and New Zealand and stretching through the arc of islands north and northeast of the two dominions. They offer to assume full responsibility for policing or sharing in the policing of the area, and to cooperate with the Dutch, Portuguese, and French, whose colonies they expect to see restored when the Japanese have been evicted.

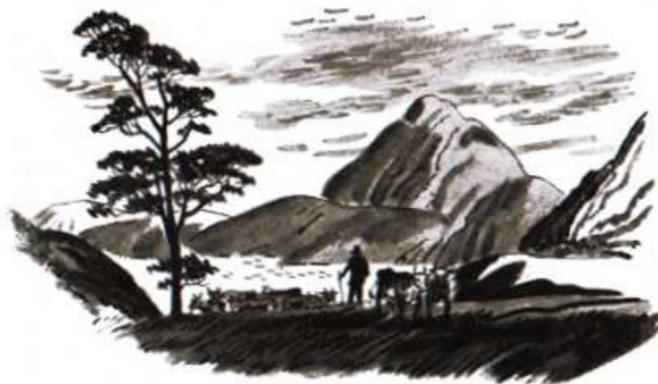
Enemy territories

In deciding about enemy territories in the Pacific, the Anzacs insist that they must play a part and have a voice; and they ask that "no change in the sovereignty or system of control of any of the islands of the Pacific should be effected except as a result of an agreement to which they are parties or in the terms of which they have both concurred."

For these islands, and indeed for all the territories held by white men in the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand urge that the "doctrine of trusteeship" be applied, and that "the main purpose of the trust is the welfare of the native peoples and their social, economic and political development." They propose that "a regional organization with advisory powers" be set up to collaborate in devising plans for health services, native education, assistance in native production, and material developments generally. All this, like the wider problems of security, should be worked out, they

suggest, by conference and the frank exchange of views between representatives of the Australian, New Zealand, British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and United States governments.

Thus two valiant small nations pin their hopes on international cooperation for security and on trusteeship for the solution of the problems of the Pacific. In the war they have shown their capacity for cooperation; and in their treatment of native peoples such as the Maoris in New Zealand and the Papuans in New Guinea they have demonstrated that trusteeship is not impracticable dreaming.



TO THE LEADER

The material in *Australia, Our Neighbor "Down Under"* gives an interesting account of social and historical facts about Australia. In proportion to its population, Australia has made large contributions to the war.

Australia is an important base for our military operations. Thousands of Americans have thus learned to know a region hitherto completely removed from their experience. Many American soldiers have developed close personal ties with the people "down under." Added to these facts, the postwar importance of the Pacific area looms larger in the minds of Americans than was dreamed of by most of us before 1941. As a result discussion of questions that concern the Pacific and our neighbors in the Southwest Pacific should be of genuine interest to soldier groups.

How to use this pamphlet

Into this small pamphlet has been compressed much pertinent information about Australia. In planning one or more discussions based upon this information, you may find the following suggestions helpful. You are of course quite free to adopt any other procedures that may appeal to you as more practical.

1. After careful study of the pamphlet, select a major question that offers a basis for discussion. Choose one such question for

each meeting to be planned. If you use a small committee to shape your discussion program, this is where the committee can assist you. Some possible discussion topics are:

Should the "doctrine of trusteeship" be applied to islands of the Pacific?

Would the Australian "living wage" work in the United States?

Can Australia attract American immigrants after the war?

2. In your five or ten minute introductory talk, plan to give reasons for discussing the chosen subject together with such information from this pamphlet as forms essential background for the discussion. If, for example, you are to discuss the doctrine of trusteeship, you would need to indicate how Australia administered the Dependency of Papua (page 47) and suggest questions which would develop the differences between this colonial policy and that of other colonial powers. To introduce the subject of the Australian living wage you will find good material under the heading, "The Basic Wage" (page 45). Scattered through the whole text are facts about climate, population, agriculture, industry, and labor in Australia; from these facts you should be able to select major points essential to introducing a discussion about immigration to Australia.

3. Prepare a series of questions which you will ask during the discussion (if someone doesn't anticipate you). A few ideas for such questions are given below under "Questions for Discussion."

4. Reproduce such tables from the text as are appropriate to your subject. Reproductions may be made on a blackboard or on large sheets of paper. Be sure to have the tables made so that they are legible to persons sitting at the rear of the audience.

5. If possible, make one or more copies of this pamphlet available for advance reading by men who will attend your meetings. Put the copies in whatever central reading room is most accessible.

Men in possession of background facts will carry on a more effective discussion than those who lack facts.

6. You should have a copy of EM 1, *G. I. Roundtable: Guide for Discussion Leaders*. This pamphlet contains much helpful information on how to organize and conduct informal discussions, panel discussions, forums, symposiums, and debates.

Questions for discussion

1

Should the Australian "doctrine of trusteeship" be applied to Pacific dependencies? Is this doctrine in line with U. S. policies? With Dutch policies? With British policies? French? Portuguese? Would all dependent peoples in the South and Southwest Pacific develop well under trusteeship? If some would not, why wouldn't they? Should responsibility for the dependent lands be divided between various United Nations or be discharged jointly by them? Is it right for Australia and New Zealand to have a share in establishing policies for dependencies within what they consider their "zone of defense"?

2

Would the Australian "living wage" work in the United States? How does Australian wage regulation differ from similar laws in the United States? Can you suggest reasons for the difference? Have the reasons something to do with the relative strength of the labor movement in the two countries? How do our living standards differ? How does the Australian "basic wage" compare with our "minimum wage"? What is the attitude toward wages for women in our two countries? Are wage adjustments based on an index number satisfactory? How are salaries for white-collar workers regulated in Australia?

3

Can Australia attract immigrants from America after the war? What would make Americans want to go there? Employment

opportunities? Living conditions? Australian government policies to promote the economic welfare of its people? Have the Australians had success in solving their land problem? Would the strength of labor in government attract American immigrants? Would the national policy for a "White Australia" be a consideration? Have the personal ties developed between some Americans and Australians encouraged immigration? Is it likely that Australians may wish to come to America? Is it possible that Americans' lack of interest in Australia has been because America has itself been a "frontier" country? What about northern Australia as a possible postwar frontier?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

These books are suggested for supplementary reading if it so happens that you have access to them. They are not approved nor officially supplied by the War Department. They have been selected because they give additional information and represent different points of view.

INTRODUCING AUSTRALIA. By C. Hartley Grattan. Published by John Day Company, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. (1942). How an American analyzed the country.

LANDS DOWN UNDER. By C. Hartley Grattan. Published for the Institute of Pacific Relations by Webster Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo. (1943).

AUSTRALIA. By W. K. Hancock. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. (1931). How one of the most brilliant of living Australians analyzed his own country.

MEET THE ANZACS! By W. L. Holland and Philip E. Lilienthal. No. 7 of *Far Eastern Pamphlets* published by Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y. (1942).

AUSTRALIA AND THE AUSTRALIANS. By Harold J. Timperley. No. 23 of *America in a World at War*, pamphlets published by

Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.: (1942).

POCKET GUIDE TO AUSTRALIA; POCKET GUIDE TO NEW ZEALAND. Pamphlets prepared by the Information and Education Division, Army Service Forces, United States Army. War and Navy Departments, Washington, D. C. (1943).

The following pamphlets are available from Australian News and Information Bureau, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N. Y.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. Text of the January 21, 1944 agreement.

FACTS AND FIGURES OF AUSTRALIA AT WAR, No. 3. Issued by Commonwealth Department of Information (December 1943).

THE JOB AUSTRALIA IS DOING.

AUSTRALIA AT HOME TO THE YANKS. Issued in cooperation with the National Headquarters of the American Legion.

THE REAL AUSTRALIAN SOLDIER. A pamphlet by Gavin Long. Reprinted from *The Infantry Journal*, June 1943.

AUSTRALIA LOOKS TO THE FUTURE. Excerpts of speeches by Prime Minister John Curtin and External Affairs Minister Herbert V. Evatt.

